THE MILITANT

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The Wage-Cutting Drive

What Green's Sellout to Hoover and the Bosses Really Means to the American Workers

Hardly had the stock market collapse and the mass unemployment that followed right on its heels had time to sink into the minds of the working class than that ever faithful footman of the American capitalist class William Green rushed to the Hoover employers' conference to pledge that he would do all in his power to prevent any strikes in the coming period.

America's industrialists winkingly assured Green, without smiling, that on their part they would not undertake to cut labor's wages.

Green Remains Loyal

Green has of course kept his part of the bargain. In accordance with the role he is paid to play, and has played for years, he has religously sabotaged any movement of the American workers to fight aginst the growing impoverishment to which unempoyment, speed-up anl wage slashing condemn them. He motivates his incessant scabbing with a reference to the employers' "pledge" to "maintain the American wage standard". Here is how it is being maintained:

The National Cash Register Co. of Dayton, Ohio, has put through a 10 percent cut for 6,000 employees.

"Fifty hosiery mills in the United States have abolished extra rates for continuous operation services," says the Labor Bureau, "which amounts to actually decreasing wage earnings, while members of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Tin Workers in the Youngstown, Ohio district, are to receive 25 cents a ton less as wages during May and June as a result of a decline in the average price of steel bars. Similarly, employeess of copper producers in Arizona are to receive a preliminary wage reduction based on the average selling prices of copper during April. 'Average selling prices for May will, of course, be lower and hence another wage reduction will take place on June 1'."

Sixty Wage Cuts

The August bulletin of the Labor Bureau reports 60 distinct wage cuts by as many firms or industries since May. It adds: "The wage truce, supposed to have been agreed to by employers at the Hoover conference early last winter, has been violated by reductions in pay." (Honor to Bill Green who would not violate the gentleman's agreement by organizing strikes against starvation wage cuts!)

These figures are but part of a much greater mass. And they relate only to those workers who have jobs. How about those that are jobless? The Labor Bureau publishes the following

Twelve-Month Comparison of Volume of Employment in percent

1928 to 1929		1929 to 1930	
July	7	January	— 5
August	5	February	— 7
September	5	March	— 9
October	3	April	—10
November	—1-2	May	—12
December	—4	June	—13

These figures represent only the percentage changes in the number employed. No account is taken of part-time employment. It is pointed out that the number of man-hours worked would show an even more drastic downward curve.

The cold figures speak an eloquent language. They show as clear as day that the American capitalist class is working to issue out of its own, crisis by squeezing the last drop out of the working class. The less resistance that is offered the more arrogantly will the bosses proceed to carve deeper into the standards of life hitherto won by the wrokers. The need for a militant front to include every worker is now more imperative than ever.

For Social Insurance

And for the unemployed, whose fate is so closely linked with that of the worker with a job, the broadest campaign to alleviate their difficulties must be conducted. The costs of the crisis must be shifted to the shoulders of those who profited by the prosperity, the capitalists, and who now want the workers to suffer from the decline. The demand must be raised everywhere for recognition of the Soviet Union and long-term credits to it so that it can commence the purchase of machinery here on a large scale. The demand for social insurance to be paid by the state and the bosses, must be developed until the force behind it cannot be resisted.

The Camorra of Green and Co. has betrayed the workers. They must lead the fight aganst wage-cutting and unemployment themselves.

What's Going On in China?

The **Daily Worker**, through its great Orientalist Doonping, announces that "the Chinese Revolution advances by leaps and bounds towards the establishment of a Soviet Republics" and that "the red armies grow like snowballs". (**D.W.** August 9). The stimulant to this latest effusion is the reported operation of the so-called "Communist armies" in the Yangtse Valley (Hunan, Hupeh, Kiangsu and Fukien).

A couple of months ago, its pages plastered with maps and rhetoric, an issue of the **Daily Worker** appeared greeting the convocation of the "All-Chinese Congress of Soviets". Thereafter with the same startling legerdemain this all-Chinese Congress completely disappeared from the eyes of men, "sunk without a trace". Long, weary weeks afterwards, with the intelligence service of a great state at his disposal, Stalin vaguely referred to this "Soviet Congress" in such terms as "it is said" and "if it is true, it would not surprise us".

Sands of Illusion

The Communist International cannot be built on the shifting sands of illusion. Such scruples however play small part in the factional calculations to those for whom the rising of a Bolivian military clique is a social revolution, a tribal raid is a war against imperialism, five thousand in Union Square are fifty thousand, water turns into wine and the wafer into the body of Christ. Wishes are not facts and we do not propose to replace Marxism by journalistic bally-hoo. We adhere to Lenin's "old-fashioned" practise of calling a spade a spade, and a putsch a putsch. To avoid mere emotionalism, one must retain a clear picture of the character and the perspectives of the Chinese Revolution.

The theses of the Seconl Congress of the Comintern energetically warned against the danger of permitting petty-bourgeois democratic movements in the colonial countries to masquerade as Communist. What shall we say today when amorphosu guerilla bands of socially uprooted soldiery and peasantry have only to use the insignia of the hammer and sickle to be proclaimed as the genuine Soviet emancipators of China? Yet in this confusion for which the Stalin bureaucracy is responsible there is a certain logic. Here is more testimony to the political consequences that flow from the reactionary idea that the next stage in the social development of China is the "democratic dictatorship", in theory the peasant democracy"—in fact, the regime either of a Kerensky or Chiang Kai-Shek. Yesterday this famous "democratic dictatorship" was to be realized through the bourgeois Kuomintang; today it is slated to emanate from peasant guerilla warfare. But what of the industrial proletariat... and the Communist Party? In 1925-6-7, the Communist Party was turned into a mere appendage of the Chinese bourgeoisie; in 1930, the fragment of the Communist Party left after the massacres of Chiang Kai-Shek, has become a red-tinctured edition of the "green" peasant parties of Raditch and Stambulisky.

The Third Chinese revolution is inevitable—if its strategy is Marxist, if its leadership is actuated by the recognition of its real driving forces. Between opportunism and putschism the Stalin machine has shown that it can only retard and ruin revolutionary possibilities. In 1925-6-7 the

(Continued on Page 7)

Our Class War Prisoners Must Be Freed!

In a few days the third anniversary of the cold-blooded murder of Sacco and Vanzetti will be reached. Their memory, ever green in the heart of the world proletariat, remains a burning appeal for the struggle against class justice and perse cution.

While the workers everywhere gather to commemorate their judicial assassination the pledge must be renewed for the fight to release all the class war prisoners who continue to fill the penitentiaries of the bloated plutocracy o this country. At this very moment, a cynical, farcical "hearing" is being held again on the case of Tom Mooney and Warren Billings. The whole miserable edifice of perjury, falsehood and crime built up against them has crumbled long ago. What is left is the hideously naked body of the American frame-up system, the acme of our capitalist culture. At the hearings, the prosecutors boldly declare that irrespective of the evidence relating to the alleged crime proper, they favor the imprisonment of Mooney and Billings because they were labor agitators!

The real crime in the Mooney and Billings case remains, as before, the passivity of the workers who let their fighters rot in prison. Hearing or no hearing, we have learned the bitter lesson sufficiently that no dependence can be put upon the capitalist hyenas. The need of the moment is a broad protest movement to shake the country and liberate the two victims of Californian capitalism.

At the other end of the country, William Foster, Robert Minor, I. Amter and Harry Raymond remain imprisoned on Welfare (!) Island. The "magnanimous" Mayor Walker has kindly consented to have the first three released at the end of six months. Every additional day of their incarceration makes more crying the need for a defense movement that will release them and prevent others to come from taking their place.

In the fight for the release of these men, as for the defense of the Atlanta victims, the Centralia I.W.W., for the Italian Communist Serio, Malkin and others elsewhere, the Left wing must take the initiative and the leadership. Thus far it has failed signally. It is apparently too busy with phrase-mongering about the "Third Period" to carry out such "petty" work as defending the class war prisoners. It must nevertheless be done. And on a broad serious scale. Let the master class learn that they cannot murder and imprison our militants without hearing the reply of the working class!

Is Sylvia Bleeker to Be Expelled?

As we go to press, we are given the following important information :

Comrade Slyvia Bleeker, one of the well known leaders of the Left wing in the needle trades, was barred from attending the meeting of the Party needle trades fraction held in the Workers Center Friday night August 8. The Stalinist appointees in charge of the meeting informed her that she could not attend without a permit from the secretary of the Control Commission of the New York district.

The action is evidently the result of the meeting a week previously of the district Control Commission which comrade Bleeker was instructed to attend. There she was confronted with an anonymous accusation of being a "Trotskyist". In answer to a number of heresy-hunting questions, she replied that she was sympathetic towards the views of the Left Opposition. The Inquisition then demanded that she hand in a written stateent of her views.

A Typical Case

The case of comrade Bleeker is undoubtedly typical of scores of other comrades in the Party, whom the ruinous course of the latter has set to thinking fundamentally on the situation in the Communist movement and the issues raised by the international Left Opposition. Comrade Bleeker is not only one of the most prominent militants in the needle trades, but an old devoted Party member She joined the underground Communist Party in the United States in 1920 to which she had been transferred from the Russian Party, for which she had been carrying on responsible work in Poland during the most critical days of the Russian revolution. Since 1926, she was secretary of the milliners' local 43 of the Zaritsky union, and was one of the leaders in the Left wing fight. She was elected a vice-president and member of the General Executive Board of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union at its foundation, and still occupies the post of organizer of the Headwear Department of the organization. At the recent convention of the N.T.W.I.U., she was removed from the G.E.B. by Johnstone and Co. because of the militant defense of her views on the Party's trade union policies.

The question that now arises is this: is comrade Bleeker to be expelled from the Party by the Browders and their little Perillas because she, like so many others, dares to hold views, entirely Communist, that run counter to the momentarily official dogmas of the Stalinist clique? Thus far, it seems the question of her Party membership is pending. Her expulsion, like that of supporters of the Left Opposition in the past, would constitute a disgraceful act by the Stalinists and deepen the mark of bureaucracy with which their past acts have branded them.

The Aim of the Browders

There are many other in the Party like comrade Bleeker who allow themselves to think, to express their views and to demand the right to discuss the within the limits of Party democracy. Are they all to be expelled? Is the Party to be systematically cut down so that the membership is reduced to the apparatus crust at the top and blinded, gagged, devitalized yesmen at the bottom? Evidently, that is the ideal towards which the Browderian agglomeration is striving.

The National Miners' Union Passes

The National Miners Union has passed like a ghost in the night. After many long months of concentrated bluff in the official Party press about the thousands and tens of thousands of miners who were following the leadership of the N.M.U., about the strikes and demonstrations it was leading, the bubble of bluff has collapsed of internal vacuum. At the "convention" in Pittsburgh of a few dozen miners, representing very little more than themselves, the N.M.U. was quietly interred.

Characteristic of the whole policy of the swindlers now dominating the Party was the manner in which the affair was carried out. To this day, the **Daily Worker,** which mentioned the convention only casually, has not said a single word about the fact that the N.M.U. no longer exists. Its first and last report on the meeting (a few lines in one issue) says nothing about it. The whole procedure was typically bureaucratic, conducted behind the scenes, without the workers knowing what was going to be done, or, in this case, even being informed about what was done.

How the Retreat is Covered Up

Equally characteristic of the Party bureaucracy is the manner in which this mortifying retreat has been covered up so that it may be proclaimed as "another step forward for the T.U.U.L." In place of the quietly cremated N.M.U., a brand new (but no less weak) organization has been formed, in the same dark hour of the night at which the funeral took place: The Mine, Oil and Smelter Workers Industrial Union!

We won't speak of the "mine workers" in this "new union". But where are the oil workers in it, or the smelter workers? The answer is that they are not in it, and assuming that the Browders and Bedachts continue to ruin the Partys' trade union work, there are good grounds to add that they will not be in it. The M.O.S.W.I.U. was formed bureaucratically. No agitation for it among the workers was carried on; there was no preliminary preparation for it among them; there was no official announcement that the N.M.U. was dissolved, or the reasons for it given.

None of this however interests the collective Browders in the slightest. They organize and disorganize unions with the magician's wand of the "third period". What they bring to a tenuous life one day, they kill off the very next. That they discredit the Communist movement, and the movement for organizing the unorganized into new unions, in the process, is of even less concern to them.

There was no good reason for the debacle of the N.M.U. It started off with excellent prospects of growth and authority among the American coal miners. It was strangled by Stalinist arbitrariness and bluff. Capable Left wing and Communist workers who dared to disagree with the crudely false policies of the Stalinist clique running the Party and the N.M.U., were immediately removed from office and expelled from the union. The narrowest, most sectarian policy of isolation was foisted upon the union without ever asking the membership.

No serious attempt was made to organize the unorganized miners: talk and headlines in the **Daily Worker** were substituted for genuine activity. No serious attempt was made to approach and win over the workers in the Lewis or in the Fishwick-Howat unions: the former were simply labelled "fascist" and the latter "social-fascist", which was taken to mean that the N.M.U. was absolved from the need of working to win them over.

Bluff and Adventurism

In place of competent workers, incompetent and factional hacks were appointed from above—never selected by the miners. The official organ of the union was allowed to die, although the **Daily Worker** continued to speak without cease about the steady advances being made. Unprecedented bluff was made the order of the day, interspersed with light-hearted adventures like the ill-fated Illinois "mass strike"

A creeping paralysis seized the organization. A movement like the one that broke out in Pittston, with thousands of miners involved, passed by without the N.M.U. influencing it in the slightest (which did not prevent the **Daily Worker** from publishing the most monstrous falsehoods about the "N.M.U. leading the miners in a strike against unemployment"!). The policies of the Party entirely demoralized the already weakened trade union center at Pittsburgh, so that the whole last period passed by without a single union official working in the national office. While the bluff campaign about "advances" was going on in the official press, a young stenographer was the sole and single director of the fate of the N.M.U. in Pittsburgh!

The "convention" assembled with the hand of death already heavy on it. There was not a single Left wing miners' leader present even to make the report to the delegates: a new precedent was set by having W.F.Dunne, of the T.U.U.L., make the official report on the situation and the tasks of the union! The W.I.R. was more prominently in the fore in every phase of the work there than the N.M.U. as such.

Our Policy and Browder's Tested

When the Communist League (Opposition), in its statement on the problems of the Left wing in the mining industry, proposed a serious, and not a fake, campaign of organizing the unorganized miners, and at the same time building a Left wing inside the Fishwick-Howat union in Illinois and the Lewis union in the anthracite, the Party leadership shouted themselves blue in the face with their dreary vilification of our group and its program. We warned the Communist and Left wing workers against the Stalinist policy in the miners' movement. The Stalinists confidently boasted of the correctness of their "line".

The latter has had its test. The test has cost the Left wing miners' movement many harsh blows. It has already killed the N.M.U.—nothing less. The wreck cannot be made whole again by the cheap, mechanical artifices of forming chemically pure "new" unions on paper for the edification of Moscow archivists. The evil must be cut down at the root. And at the root lies the malicious religion of "social fascism" and the "third period". The future will be replete with debacles similar to the one that just culminated in Pittsburgh until the Communist workers throw overboard these concepts and those who conceived them.

—MARSH

The big-hearted boss. . . .

"Oh boys, I'm ruined."

"This year I've made only $100,000."

"What in God's name can I do?"

"Business is something fierce."

"You see for youselves I've got to cut down your wages!"

Wherein Lies the Difference between Them?

The **Daily Worker** has been publishing a number of urgent calls to unemployed workers to resist evictions from their homes by landlords for non-payment of rent. What it says in this connection is entirely correct, and the calls should be heeded. The **Daily Worker** will probably be interested in a case of threatened eviction which is particularly flagrant. It can do a lot to remedy the situation for the workers involved. The landlord of one of the big apartment houses in the Bronx has sent a number of his tenants the following communication which we reproduce in full:

> "You are hereby notified that unless you pay your rent on time, i. e., on the first of every month in advance and at least a part of your arrears every month, we shall be obliged to take legal action against you, i. e., to dispossess you.
>
> "This is the last warning. Come to the office and make necessary payments. Phil. Amron. Manager"

The worthy landlord who signs this communication and is so ready to resort to legal action in capitalist courts is manager of the "famous" Bronx Cooperative Apartment Houses, controlled by the same Stalinist clique that was recently so busy —on paper—eradicating petty bourgeois deviations in the cooperative movement! Most if not all of the tenants to whom this brutal communication is addressed are unemployed workers who have already contributed enormous sums towards the maintenance of a thoroughly corrupted group of bureaucratic Business-Communists.

We never had very much enthusiasm for these high pressure, high finance adventures sailing under the flag of "cooperative Bolshevism"; we have much less today. We despise the bloated landlords of the East side who evict their unemployed tennants who cannot pay their rent "on the first of every month in advance" and we heartily endorse the **Daily Worker** for urging these workers to resist evictions with every means at their command. We havn't much more use for the smug landlords who conceal their appeals to the bosses' courts behind a red Party card. Their unemployed tenants who cannot pay rent at the present moment, we also urge to resist evictions.

Do not the **Daily Worker** and the **Freiheit,** which have so much influence with the manager of the Cooperative Apartments, think likewise?

—J.

The Real Results of August First

The August First demonstrations this year were not only marked by a sobering-up of the official Party policy, but by a sharp decline in participation that indicated more than anything else that the class struggle cannot be arranged to fit the bureaucratic calendar markings of the official Stalinist clique.

No "General Strike"

There was nothing said this year, as it was last year, about "appropriating the political and military-technical experience of the struggle of the Berlin workers". Unlike last year, there was this time no irresponsible call issued for a "general political mass strike" on August First. Under pressure of hard facts and the relentless criticism of the Opposition, the bureaucracy in the Party was compelled to modify it adventurous course and drop some of its mystic "Third Period" jargon.

But changes made in a bureaucratic manner, without explanation, and over night, are not so lightly and quickly followed by the workers. The constant swinging between extremes in Party policy do not bring the workers along with it. And when in addition to this, there prevails a sectarian, isolationist course which steadily narrows the Party's base among the masses, results such as August First must be expected as natural.

All the shouting and beating of tomtoms cannot conceal the chagrin felt even by the Party leaders at the meagerness of the response to this year's demonstration. The reports from the principal cities in the country were significantly vague. The "hundreds of thousands" who, we were assured by the **Daily Worker,** took possession of the streets on March 6th, seemed to have dwindled amazingly to a few thousands five months later. This in spite of the fact that the objective conditions for the strengthening of the movement have improved rather than otherwise; in spite of the "fact" that the Party has again been "internally and externally consolidated". The cold truth of the matter is that the demonstrations were an almost universal failure. The **Daily Worker** which on August 4th, promised an "analysis" of the demonstrations by the C.E.C., of the "insufficiencies" and "shortcomings" (of the membership, of ourse, never of the leadership), has not presented the analysis yet. And for cause. Any serious analysis would have to reveal not only the incompetency of the Party leadership, capable only of producing defeats, but the falsity of its policies.

This holds not only for the United States, but for Europe as well, for the demonstrations there were small and resembeld more a series of ordinary mass meetings than demonstrations in a "period of incessant and stormy upsurge".

The N. Y. Demonstration

New York was one of the cities where a clash between the demonstrators and the police occurred. The demonstration itself, with its 9-10,000 attendants, was a scandalous affair about which the Party comrades are still talking. It had the air of being nothing so much as a picnic on the streets. No attention was paid to the speakers. Everywhere here were little knots of comrades, conversing blithely and munching ice-cream sandwiches. Only a shooting gallery and side-show were lacking to complete the picture.

When the meeting had been adjourned, the police maneuvered a section of the crowd down a side street, and without warning, streamed down from a hall where a squad had been concealed and let loose their bestial fury upon the workers. The "good" police commissioner, Mulrooney, correctly says that the police had no clubs. But for that, every one of them carried a prominently "concealed" blackjack, which they were soon swinging brutally at the workers.. The courageous cops even beat up a 16-year old girl.

An official "investigation", which tickles every good liberal, is now being conducted. Of course, it will change nothing in the attitude of the police. Their savage attacks on the worekers will continue until the latter win the fight for freedom of speech and assemblage, and learn to give these blue-coated thugs the proper reply.

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How the 16th Party Congress Was Prepared

The Persecution of the Russian Bolshevik Opposition

By N. MARKIN

Since the Spring of this year, the Stalinist leadership has again been compelled to pose as a task of the moment the question of the "extermination of the Opposition". This task arises out of the fact that, in spite of the boastings to the contrary by the members of the apparatus, **the Opposition lives, works and will continue to work**. It is enough to run through the Soviet papers to be convinced that rarely does a nucleus meeting or Party conference take place without Oppositionists or semi-Oppositionists taking the floor. The apparatus struggle against the Left Opposition is developed exclusively by means of repression. In connection with this Congress, the repression mounted frightfully. The rotten monolithism of the top is guaranteed by the coercion, the arrests, the banishments at the bottom. The Solitaries replace the discussion that should have preceded the Congress. That is how the Congress of the Party was prepared.

The aim of this article is to give the genuine facts, particularly on the "preparations" for the Congress. In January-Febraury there was a strong wave of arrests of Oppositionists, of comrades who sympathized with them, and even of comrades simply suspected of sympathizing with them. According to an approximate reckoning more or less correct, 300 comrades were arrested in Moscow alone. A large number of comrades arrested in the provinces passed through Moscow to the Butirskaia prison, coming mainly from the Ukraine, and especially from the Donbas (the proletarian mining district).

Non-Party Workers Arrested

At Butirki, there were a few dozen non-Party workers of Moscow, arrested for the sympathy they expressed for the Opposition, who are now deported to Siberia. Among the prisoners, there was also a certain percentage of capitulators, mainly of those who repented under the influence of a momentary weakness, and who subsequently declared, almost openly, that they had made a mistake. Many of them are no longer just deported, but sent to the Solitaries. They now demand from the capitulators not only the complete and absolute disavowal of their convictions **but also that they disclose all their connections. For refusal—there is the Solitary** (Zabrovskaia, Blumenfeld, and dozens of others).

The lengths to which they will go in arrests and deportations can be seen by the fact that among those arrested there is a big percentage of people arrested by chance, "seized" for reasons of relationship or simply because of saying Hello to an Oppositionist. That is how dozens of people were arrested who have no connection with the Opposition (it frequently happens that they become real Oppositionists in prison or deportation!) During this period the Moscow comrades have distributed a leaflet and have assumed charge of a whole series of strikes which were provoked by the policy of the bureaucracy (in Serpuchov at Moscow, four factories of Mostriutaga and elsewhere). This has still further irritated the bureaucracy.

A wave of arrests that began at the end of the winter continued to rise up to the month of May. The number of persons arrested in this period is at least 500, without counting more than 100 arrested persons who were transported to the Solitaries. By this time the figure has further increased.

A remark must be made here. The Stalinist repression exercized against the Bolshevik-Leninists is distinguished from that practised against the Mensheviks and S.R.s. While the latter are simply isolated from the social life of the country, to hamper them in their counter-revolutionary action against the proletarian dictatorship for the Oppositionists who fight Centrism which upsets the dictatorship of the proletariat—the Stalinist course is directed toward their **moral strangulation and their physical extermination.**

Among the Oppositionists arrested in Winter were comrades Silov and Rabinovitch, who had unleashed against them the special hatred of the apparatus: **they have been shot.** How comrade Blumkin was shot before them—this crime is known to the whole world.

The repression has been sharpened against all the deportees. A regime of horrors has been established: they have lost the right to work, that is, the right to serve, and by that they have acquired the right to be hungry. The official aid a deportee receives has long ago been reduced to 15 rubles ($7.50 a month) and that means hunger, and cold in winter. Since they have no right to be members of the cooperatives, they can frequently buy nothing, even with these 15 rubles; they live in lodgings without fire, remaining for weeks without warm food, often without light. Especially painful is the situation of the deportees in Narym, one of the most terrible places of deportation in Siberia. The Narym deportees are literally condemned to death by hunger. Moreover at Narym which, by the harshness of living conditions, is similar to a Solitary, they transport the Bolsheviks originally deported elsewhere, in an ever growing number. It is a course deliberately directed towards the physical extermination of the Opposition.

Over and above the material privations, every deportee is exposed to innumerable "little" vexations, the fruit of the absolute arbitrariness and impunity of the local G.P.U. The already tiny aid is kept back (a case is cited where it was withheld for four months and where the only reply to the demand for it was mockery of this sort: "Go to Moscow!"—that is: Capitulate! In a similar situation a comrade reduced to despair asked that he be led to a Solitary, and that is not the only instance); people simply suspected of knowing a deported Oppositionist are arrested, thus sowing terror among the local population in order to cast the Oppositionists into absolute isolation.

Systematic raids are organized, in which not only political works are seized (from comrade L.S. Sosnovsky, in prison, his work on the agrarian policy of Centrism was seized; at comrade C.G.Rakovsky, his declaration to the Party was taken, etc.)—but also quotations from the works of Marx and Lenin. This is accompanied by a courier blockade so as to isolate the deportees politically. During the Congress, the G.P.U. did not let a single letter go through in order to prevent the elaboration of a collective declaration of the Opposition. But this did not succeed, and a declaration bearing the signatures of comrades Rakovsky, Meralov, Kasparova and Kossior, was presented (all the deportees joined with it). In deportation the receipt of a letter is an event! We are not speaking even of political, but of family letters.

All the deportees live under the constant threat of being transferred to a Solitary (and this threat exists for the smallest thing: for instance, a delay of five minutes for the compulsory registration at the G.P.U.) Often they do not even give formal reasons. The real aim is to shatter the revolutionary intransigeance of the Oppositionist. At the same time with an open tendency to transfer the points of deportation to the harshest regions of the North, the Solitaries are filled up more and more. Their number is always growing because those that exist are already full. The regime in the prisons and Solitaries is incomparably worse than that of deportation. In the prisons there is rarely any light (the windows are covered with an opaque panel), the damp cells are occupied by two or three times as many prisoners as the rules provide for; place is lacking for sleep, not only on the cots, but even on the floor.

In the Solitaries

What the sanitary conditions are is not difficult to judge. In their cells, the Oppositionists, kept separate from each other, are mixed up with counter-revolutionaries and criminals who not only detest our comrades as the representatives of Bolshevism but hate and jeer at them, casting upon them all the hatred they nurture against the Soviet power. The system of the G.P.U.—holding Oppositionists in common cells with criminals—did not even exist in the prisons of czarism. This system is applied **only to Oppositionists.** The Mensheviks (at Butyrki, for instance) enjoy all the rights of political prisoners; they are kept separate from criminals, their cell doors are open; they have a small library at their disposal.

The cells of the Oppositionists are closed, nowhere is visiting allowed them, they have no rights to anything sent from the outside. And in addition to all this, they are treated coarsely and laughed at. Under such a regime, hunger strikes break out without end, and sometimes last until a mortal end (let us remember the heroic death of comrade Butov) To the hunger strikes, to the minimum demands of the prisoners, the prison direction replies by having them systematically beaten, by soaking them with water in the bitter cold of winter, etc. Beatings are a system known in the prison of Kharkov, in the Verchnye-Uralsk Solitary, in the Leningrad prison, and in a whole number of others. It was through blows that comrade Haenrichsen was killed in the Leningrad prison.

The colony of Oppositionists deported at Tomsk has gathered a great deal of information on the absolutely terrible crimes Stalin has perpetrated against our comrades. It has presented a document of protest to which all the other colonies of deportees have rallied. In this document it is learned that hunger prevails in all the places of deportation for Oppositionists; it is established that for Bolsheviks, the conditions of Stalinist deportation are incomparably worse than those of czarism. Many deportees have become invalids (there are dozens of them) for lack of any medical succor, at Narym and similar places elsewhere. The seriously ill are not even transported to the nearest inhabited regions where a doctor might be found. When it is decided to transport an ill comrade. it is only when he is in a hopeless state. This winter, many comrades had their limbs frozen, and some had to undergo amputations because no medical aid was given them in time.

Babies, right after their birth, have been taken from their mother, and the latter sent into Solitaries (comrade Yanovskaia among others). The same document informs us that **a new shooting of Oppositionists took place at Solovski;** it is no rare thing for the G.P.U. now to pronounce sentences, not of 3 to 5 years, but of 10 years, in vengeance for the political conduct of a comrade. For instance, without any formal proof, comrade Golodni was condemned to 10 years in Solitary. In all the colonies of deportees, before the 16th Congress, comrades were arrested and sent to the Solitaries. We do not give here the names of the colonies nor the names of the comrades arrested; we will deal only with the most striking facts.

A Hunger Strike in Ichim

In May, at Ichim, the whole colony was arrested—9 comardes—as well as 15 inhabitants of the city who, according to the accusation of the G.P.U., had been propagandized by Oppositionists. All are now in terrible condition, our comrades write us—they are locked up in the Sverdolsk prison. Two of them are seriously ill, they do not receive the political prisoner's ration, they are locked up in different cells, and have been compelled to declare a hunger strike. How this hunger strike ended, and above all, what was subsequently the fate of the Ichim deportees, we do not know.

The comrades informing us, call this arrest together with 15 non-Oppositionists an "amalgam", which means an artificial liaison for the purpose of discrediting our comrades by means of people alien to the Opposition. The destruction of the colony and the creation of a Thermidorian amalgam are the work of a provocateur. The provocations practised against the Opposition recently have assumed Homeric proportions.

Not only are the Opposition groups still filled with provacteurs, but these "operate" also in the deportation and in prison. There, their task is to disclose the most intransigeant, to provoke decomposition by leading comrades to capitulate, etc. A provacteur showing himself under the mask of a "capitulator" is now a current phenomenon in the deportation.

That is how the colony of deportees at Kaminsk was destroyed. Two comrades, Stolovsky and Densov, were transferred to the Tomsk prison, the others, to the furthest corners of Siberia. This colony was dispersed only because it didn't produce a single capitulator. In their declaration to the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., the Kaminsk comrades showed how the cadres of the local Party organizations are recruited. Basing themselves on exact information, they name more than 30 members of the Party now occcpying responsible posts who were agents of the White terror during the days of Kolchak and who shot Reds. These elements are leaders of this district to this very day. The Kolchakists are chiefly to be found in great numbers in the G.P.U. This fact throws a striking light on the question: who is carrying out the Stalinist policy which hounds the deported Bolsheviks, which aids in their extermination? Ex-Whites, and not accidentally!

At Rubtsevsk, Siberia, without any accusation being formulated against them, four Oppositionists were arrested: Abramsky, Antokolsky, Veskresensky, Evingelstaedt. From the Rubtsevsk prison, they sent a declaration to the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. on June 4, in which they said: "We can only consider this repressive act excercized against us only as a preparation by unusual means for the 16th Party Congress..." "The repression will not halt the struggle for the redressment of the Party, just as the damage done will not prevent the Party from returning to the positions of Leninism". What was subsequently the fate of the Rubtsevsk comrades is not known to us. But there is no doubt that they will be imprisoned in the Solitaries.

A similar destruction took place at Kansk (comrades Kusminsky and Landau), at Alma-Ata (comrades Goldin and others), at Slavgorod, Chimkent, and many other places. Raids have taken place everywhere. The impudent raid upon comrade Rakovsky has been told everywhere and is well known. Upon him, as the leader of the Russian Opposition, the Stalinists are concentrating their hatred. Seriously ill (afflicted with heart trouble and malaria), comrade Rakovsky, far from being sent to a more clement climate (as the doctors ordered) has been transported from Astrakan to Barnaoul. Comrade Rakovsky, who is 57 years old, of which 40 have been devoted to the struggle for Communism, passed a very painful Winter, his sick organism having to undergo cold of 40 to 50 degrees. The isolation in which he is held is more rigorous than for anybody else. The game of Stalin is clear: slowly but surely to finish off Rakovsky.

Sosnovsky in Danger

It is in an even more painful situation that another eminent leader of the Opposition, an old Bolshevik, comrade L.S. Sosnovsky is to be found. He is incarcerated in the Tomsk prison, in a regime of isolation more severe than any known in the czarist prisons for those condemned to death. No correspondence is allowed him, no authorized mail, no relation with the other prisoners; he must take his walks in company with a special agent of the G.P.U. The state of health of comrade Sosnovsky is critical. A prolonged imprisonment under such conditions means the end for him. It is under similar conditions than another old Bolshevik, E.D.Eltsin, is to be found (in the Supdalsk Solitary) :this comrade is afflicted by spinal meningitis.

That is how the 16th Congress was prepared on the back of the Left Opposition. By using the power of coercion of the apparatus for factional ends, the Stalinist leadership has set this apparatus against the Left proletarian wing of the Party. Fire to the Left! the more terrible this fire will be, the clearer will appear in the eyes of the proletarians the lamentable bankruptcy of Centrist policy.

By hunger, by cold, by the blockade, by outrages, by blows and by shootings, Centrism aims to squeeze out of the weakest ones a capitulation, and the strongest ones it condemns to ruin. Only the working class can thwart this Thermidorian plan. There is its duty, there is its task. By making an end of the Left wing, Stalin will make an end of the October revolution. That must be understood, that must be prevented, that must not be permitted.

* * * * *

We take this occasion to inform the foreign comrades that in reply to the greetings of the international conference in Paris to the deported and imprisoned Russian Oppositionists, there have arrived in the editorial Board of the **Bulletin of the Russian Oppositions** numerous greetings not only from the places of deportation but also from the Solitaries.

"MY LIFE"

All readers of the Militant and their friends who desire to get their copy of of Leon Trotsky, "My Life", should make it a point to order the book directly through the Militant. Shipment will be made the day the order is received, and the cost of the book, five dollars, ($5.00), covers the postage charge. Send your order, together with money order or cash to

THE MILITANT
25 Third Avenue. New York, N. Y.

Between Black and Red

The Danger of Fascism in Germany

By KURT LANDAU

The advance of Fascism has alarmed the proletariat. The results of the Saxony elections are thoroughly discussed in all the factories, at the registry offices, wherever workers gather.

But it is not the Saxony elections alone that have refuted the blinded leaders of our Party. This holds true to a still greater extent for the developments in Thuringia. On May 9, the **Rote Fahne** editorial took up the reactionary policy of Frick in Thuringia and the anti-labor attitude of the National Socialists (Fascisti), and reached the conclusion:

"No wonder that all this affected the National Socialist worker elements like a cold douche. They are beginning to get enough of Hugenberg and Hitler...In the open country too, that is, where the land proletariat found a determined leader in the Communist Party, the advance of the Hakenkreuzler was brought to a **standstill** in recent months."

Two days later the elections took place in Gotha (Thuringia) with the result that the Fascisti outstripped the Communist Party and increased—in spite of Frick!—its vote since December 1929 from 5193 to 6136.

What Are the Driving Forces of Fascism?

In 1927-28 we were able to establish a definite Leftward development of the masses. The number of strikes rose from 330 (1926) to 751 (1927) and 687 (1928), the number of strikers from 54,399 (1926) to 224, 131 (1927) to 271,473 (1928).

Simultaneously there began an influx of workers into the trade unions, whose membership rose from 3.977,309 (1926) to 4,150,160 (1927) and 4,653,581 (1928).

The rising activity in the proletariat was accompanied by a Leftward development of the masses in general. The reactionary policy of the bourgeois bloc government had an alarming effect. Enormous masses, swept along in tow behind the bourgeois parties, awakened and turned to reformism. In the Reichstag elections of 1928 the votes of the Socialist Party were jerked upwards from 7,881,000 (1924) to 9,151,100 and the C.P.G. won more than 500,000 new voters.

The accentuation of the economic crisis in the last year brought the masses in the bourgeois camp into a still stronger conflict to the old bourgeois parties. But one thing changed **fundamentally:** The expectations the masses put in reformism in 1928 were bitterly disappointed. That is how the direction of the departure of the masses from the old bourgeois parties had to change especiallf because the C.P.G. under its present leadership did not understand how to show these masses a concrete path in the struggle against their growing impoverishment.

The disappointment of the semi-proletarian and petty bourgeois sections, stirred up by the policy of the trust bourgeoisie, with the betrayal of reformism and embitterment with the incapacity of the C.P.G. leadership to help them—that is the real driving force of Fascism.

At the present time, the semi-proletarian, petty bourgeois masses, who formerly followed the bourgeois parties, especially the German National and the German People's Party, are in large part gathering in the camp of Fascism: officials, coupon-clippers, intellectuals, former officers, primarily the petty bourgeois, nationalist youth. But there is no doubt that Fascism has already begun to hammer a breach in proletarian fortresses, especially in Saxony, Thuringia and Northern Bavaria.

Faascism is already exercizing a palpable and dangerous influence upon large sections of the proletariat that are politically strange to it. There arises among many workers a feeling of impotence towards the stormy rise of Fascism;a fatalistic attitude becomes noticeable.

It is precisely these phenomena in the proletariat that are especially dangerous; precisely this influence is required by Fascism in order to triumph.

The Party leadership also approaches this attitude when it attributes the growth of Fascism to "a series of objective causes".

These "objective causes"—the impoverishment of the mass, its despair of the old bourgeois parties, its disappointment with reformism, its search for a radical solution —all these causes should have led primarily to an enormous growth of the Communist movement, providing there was a correct strategy of our Party.

But that is just what is not the case, either so far as numbers are concerned, or ardor, activity and impetus of our Party.

The Weakness of Communist Leadership--the Strength of Fascism

In the days that Fascism utilized to prepare a mighty advance, the period of the coalition government, in this period the Central Committee of our Party did not see the growth of Fascism at all, but intoxicated itself with its own, slowly crumbling strength. On January 21, 1930, the **Rote Fahne** proclaimed:

"The German proletariat is marching to the attack with the slogan: Dictatorship of the Proletariat!"

Ten days later, on Febraury 1, the full weakness of the Party showed itself, which did not prevent the **Rote Fahne** from pathetically proclaiming:

"That is how things stand: Everything the Communists want to do, they do."

This reckless self-intoxication, combined with the block-headed theory of "social-fascism", crippled the Party. It has now already sunk into oblivion that only a short time ago the beginning of Fascist rule was announced with the words:

"The gorged priests, the cursed secretaries and functionaries of the social fascist Party apparatus want civil war and a blood bath that will surpass all the previous misdeeds of Noske and Zoergiebel. This is no longer the preparation, but rather the beginning of Fascist rule in Germany, erected with the bloody hands of the social democratic party" (**Rote Fahne,** January 15, 1930.)

It is hardly possible to imagine a more insane disregard for the difference between Fascism and reformism.

Insofar as Fascism was noticed at all by the Party leadership, the struggle was exhausted in the slogan: "Beat the Fascists wherever you meet them!" or in the memorable proclamation: "We want a revolutionary state power that lets no Fascist live..." (**Rote Fahne,** January 28, 1930.)

How was Fascism *not* to grow when the revolutionary Party is beaten over the head like this by its leadership!

When Fascism proceeded more and more to combine the propaganda for its "third empire" with refined, demagogic laily slogans, to build up its nucleus system in the factories, the Party leadership sought to beat Fascism by "Bolshevizing" the Fascist "leader cult"; and when the **Voelkische Beobachter** wrote of the "great leader Hitler", the **Rote Fahne** replied with the "greater leader Thaelmann". Is it to be wondered at that Fascism could become, unhindered, a mass movement?

Differentiation within Fascism

The possibility for a counter-offensive by the Party against Fascism is favorable right now, since a noticeable differentiation is now proceeding in the camp of Fascism. The influx of great masses from the bourgeois camp has had a strong effect on the tactics of Fascism. Hundreds of thousands of bourgeois voters, former adherents to the German National and the German People's Party who turned to Fascism, are not satisfied with the outlook for the "national revolution", with the promises of the coming "third empire", but demand immediate measures in their interest, above all customs policy, tax and similar advantages.

Under the pressure of these sections, Hitler has for the time being decided in favor of the bloc with the other bourgeois parties and for participation in the government. Against this new line, viewed by Hitler as a transitional stage until the Fascist mass movement is sufficiently strengthened—above all among the proletariat—to accomplish the overthrow, the Berlin Fascists (Strasser group) have launched an assault. The Berlin Fascists know the mood of the Berlin workers, 50 percent of whom—by vote—are in the camp of the C.P.G. (see the communal elections of November 27, 1929). They rightly fear that the Fascist government policy as proposed for Saxony by Hitler and Goebbels and already applied in Thuringia, will drive away the proletarian masses.

Besides these tactical differences, which are of the greatest significance in the Fascist struggle for the workers, there are still others.

The orientation in foreign politics, for instance. While Hitler demands foreign political support of Italy and England, the Berlin Fascists stand on the line of Graf Reventlow of 1923, that is, support of Russia.

These differences have now led to a split of the National Socialists (Fascists); the relatively small Berlin group around Dr. Strasser has now formed the "Kampfgemeinschaft revolutionaerer Nationalsozialisten" which sees its task in the absorption of the elements dissatisfied with the bourgeois bloc policy of Fascism, and in maintaining Fascism through more radical "socialist" and 'anti-capitalist" phrases.

A «1923» Upside Down

Up to now the Fascists have timidly avoided placing themselves openly on the side of the employer in labor struggles. The sharpening of the class struggle in Germany will render this maneuvering of Fascism very difficult. Precisely now when it has become a mass movement, which also possesses positions in the factories, Fascism will have to take a concrete position in the labor struggles that are breaking out. The "creative" capital of the Rhine-Wesphalian industrial lords, which the Fascists even recognize in theory and contrast with bank capital, although the interweaving of industrial and bank capital into modern finance capital is well known to them—this "national" capital is now arming for decisive battles against the proletariat. Will the money-bags of Fascism, the lords of the Rhine and the Ruhr, the wealthy manufacturers and industrial kings, allow themselves the luxury of abandoning political support to their Fascist mercenaries? All signs indicate that the National Socialists will assume the role in these struggles of battering ram against the free trade unions. They will endeavor to transfrom the deep dissatisfaction of the workers with the bureaucracy into an assault upon the trade unions in general.

Should it come, however, to a conflict between the masses, who use and want to defend their trade unions as,fighting organs and Fascism, then a revolutionary situation can arise rapidly and directly that requires all the maneuvering capacity and boldness of the revolutionary Party in order to drive this struggle forward to a decisive one between revolution and counter-revolution.

Such a perspective has nothing in common with the theory of the "revolutionary "upsurge", which has been rising, as is known, "stormily and incessantly" since 1928, as the Manuilskys, Molotovs and Thaelmanns contend.

Such a perspective has nothing to do, either, with the superficial analogy with 1923, which is now the style of the Party, and which, as is known, led to regarding the Mueller government as the "Kerensky period".

If one wishes to compare the present development with 1923, then the present situation can be characterized as a 1923 upside down. If the determining feature of 1923 was the growth by leaps and bounds of the revolutionary forces if 1923 stood under the sign of an elementary upsurge of activity in the proletariat, of the assembling of the petty bourgeois masses for the day of the revolution—then 1930 is precisely the opposite. In 1923, Fascism collected behind the back of the mounting revolution; yet the tempo of its development stood no comparison with that of the revolution.

If in 1930, despite the catastrophic mistakes in recent years, our Party has remained a class Party, when it apparently grows—that is a sign that the proletariat hopes and endeavors with all its power to fashion an effective weapon out of its Party. Upon the road the Party trods in this serious situation will depend the fate of the German proletariat in the next years. Out of a 1923 upside down, situations may arise in which the question of power is posed more sharply, concretely and lively than ever since 1923.

Hitler stands before the gates of the proletarian fortresses. His shop nuclei raise their heads in the factories. His agitators rove through the registry offices, his bands penetrate into the proletarian poverty quarters. The decisive struggle between Communism and Fascism is maturing. The aim of the struggle is now the reformist worker. Either our Party will succeed, by a change of its policy up to now to tear down the walls between Communist and reformist masses, to draw into the struggles the masses that still follow reformism today, then, smashing the social democratic leadership, it will crush Fascism at the head of the working class. Or, the Party leadership will continue further with its policy of ultra-Leftist opportunism. Then Fascism will draw to itself large sections that still follow reformism today, neutralize and drive into passivity larger sections and bloodily crush the Communist vanguard in order, after this triumph, to forge the fetters around the whole working class.

Decisive struggles are approaching. The dangers with which the working class is confronted are enormous. But is is far from too late. Everything now depends on whether our Party becomes conscious of its tasks. In the struggles of the next period it can become the real leader of the masses. To become leader of the masses means not increasing its vote, but to win such confidence among the masses that the word of the Party in the masses finds the mightiest echo, that its call to strike, to demonstration, to revolutionary mass struggle is heeded by the proletariat.

What is needed is a return from the flights into the realms of adventurism. The Party has for years been made drunk with phrases and deception. It is time it awakened and regarded the abyss before which it stands.

We of the Left wing, howled at by a blind and incapable leadership as "Party enemies" and "renegades", we are the ones who are now planfully counteracting the internal collapse of the Party, who spring into the breach wherever the Party breaks down, who serve the Party in the manner that the leadership should serve it.

Just as in the war the small revolutionary groups around Luxemburg, Liebknecht and Mehring, just as Spartakus remained true to the banner of the proletarian revolution—so does the Left Opposition in a period when the Party leadership vacillates and breaks down. Only one thing distinguishes our time fundamentally from that of the war: The old workers' party collapsed on August 4, 1914. Spartakus had to unfurl again the bedraggled banners of the revolution, had to assemble the masses of the betrayed proletariat on a new foundation—against the Party of treason, of social imperialism, of war.

The banners of our Party are not bedraggled, our Party, burdened with heavy mistakes, violated by an incapable and conscienceless bureaucracy, has remained the Party of the working class, the Communist Party. It is our duty to guard the Party from collapse, to burn the rotteness out of it, to make the Party capabale of fighting, of conquering.

That we must fulfill this duty as persecuted and hounded ones in part as expelled, that is one of those contradictions in the development of our Party in which its history is not poor.

Inseparably bound up with the Party, from whose proletarian core the ruling apparatus cannot tear us away, the Left wing continues to fight unswervingly to fashion a Party of Lenin out of the Party of Thaelmann.

Φ

A Letter on Michael Gold

Dear Max:

The last issue, containing Trotsky's letter on the New Masses and Max Eastman's correspondence with its editors, created quite a stir. I've heard many of the boys condemn Gold's craven buckling to the Union Square priests; others stutter shame-faced apologies. As for Gold himself, I hope none of you fellows have any illusions about his position in the Party—if he is still a Party member. His mind is on higher things. He's the boy who wants to make good where, he imagines, it means something. He has his eye on Broadway, and he's working much harder on getting a play produced along the bright alley than he is even in slaughtering Trotskyism. You may have noticed the recurring motif in his work: He changed his name to GOLD. He wrote "120 MILLION". He wrote "Jews Without MONEY". It's one thing, apparently, to write about not having any; its another not to have much yourself. So when he gets through being a respectable and successful Broadway playwright under the benevolent aegis of the noble Kahn, he'll probably make his confused, liberal colleague, Barbusse look like a burnished Bolshevik. Speed the day!

Yours,

—R.

NOTES of a JOURNALIST (Who Is Responible for the «Turns»; Yakovlev's General Line) by ALFA

The Responsibility for the Turns Lies with. . .Trotskyism

It is known that the Opposition is pulling to the "Right", that it is against socialism and collectivization. It is no less known that the Opposition is for compulsory collectivization. And being that the selection and training of the apparatus, as is further well known, were in the past years in the hands of the Opposition, then with it, naturally, lies the responsibility for the turns. At any rate this is all they talk about in **Pravda.** If you do not like it, do not listen, but do not interfere with the "general line".

In the preceding issue we quoted the official Platform of the Opposition published in 1927 in regards to collectivization. But let us go 'way back of 1927, to the period of military Communism when civil war and famine necessitated a rigorous policy of bread requisitions. How did the Bolsheviks in those severe years paint the perspective of collectivization? In a speech devoted to the peasant uprisings on the ground of the requisitioning of bread, comrade Trotsky spoke on April 6, 1919:

"These uprisings gave us the possibility to realize our geatest ideological and organizational strength. But alongside of this, it is understood, the uprisings were also a sign of our weakness, because they drew into their wake not only the Kulaks but also—we must not deceive ourselves on this score—a certain part of the middle and intermediate peasantry. This can be explained by the general reasons which have been depicted by me—by the backwardness of the peasantry itself. We must not however, blame everything on the backwardness. Marx said on one occasion that a peasant not only has prejudice but also judgement, and one can appeal from the prejudice of the peasant to his judgement, to lead him towards a new order on the basis of experience. The peasantry should feel by deeds that in the working class, in its Party, in its Soviet apparatus, it has a leader, a defender; the peasant should understand the requisitions to which we were forced, should accept them as something unavoidable; he should know that we are entering into the internal life of the village, that we examine for whom it is easier, for whom it is more difficult, that we make an internal differentiation and seek the closest friendly bonds with the middle peasants.

"This we need first of all because as long as in Western Europe the working class has not gained power, as long as our Left flank cannot lean on the proletarian dictatorship of Germany, France and other countries, so long are we compelled to lean our Right flank on the Russian middle peasant. But not only in this period, no, also after the decisive, inevitable and historically pre-determined victory of the working class throughout Europe, for us, in our country, there will remain the important enormous task of the **socialization of our agricultural economy,** transforming it from a scattered, backward, peasant economy into a new, collective group, Communist economy. Can this greatest transition in world history be in any way completed **against** the desires of the peasantry? In no way. Not measures of violence will be needed here, not measures of compulsion, but educational measures, measures of influencing, of support, of good example, of encouragement—these are the methods by which the organized and enlightened working class speaks to the middle peasant." (L.Trotsky, Vol.XVII, pages 119-120).

Yakovlev's «General Line»

Every self-respecting bureaucrat has his "general line", sometime full of the unexpected. The "general line' 'of Yakovlev has always consisted of serving the command but winking to the Opposition. He ceased his winking when he understood that it is a serious matter, and for a responsible post the command demands not only the hands but the heart as well. Yakovlev has become people's commissar of agriculture. In this capacity he presented the Sixteenth Congress with a thesis on the collectivization movement. One of the basic reasons for the rise of agricultural economy, the thesis declares, is the "crushing of counter-revolutionary Trotskyism". It will therefore not hurt to recall how the present leader of the collectivization put the question of agricultural economy in the very recent past, and in the struggle against that same Trotskyism.

Characterizing the dispersal and backwardness of peasant economy, Yakovlev wrote at the end of 1927: "These data are quite sufficient to characterize the drama of the small and tiniest economy. On the cultural and organizational level of peasant economy as inherited by us from czarism **we will in no way succeed in advancing in the sphere of socialist development in our country** with the necessary speed." (On the Question of Socialist Reconstruction of Agricultural Economy, edited by Yakovlev, page xxiv).

Two years ago when 75 percent of the collectives were as yet made up of the poor, the present commissar of agriculture, Yakovlev, evaluated their socialist character in the following manner:.. .. ..

"The question of the growth in the collectives of the communal and not individual elements of capital, even at the present time, perhaps particularly at the present time—is still a quesstion of struggle; **in many instances private individual accumulation hides under the communal form,** etc." (Ibid, page xxxvii).

Defending against the Opposition the right of the Kulak to live and breath, Yakovlev wrote:

"The quintessence of the tasks is the socialist transformation of peasant economy into a cooperative socialist economy ...precisely this small and tiny economy which middle peasant economy is at bottom. This is our basic and most difficult task. While solving this task we may in passing, by measures of economic and general policy, solve the task of **limiting the growth of Kulak exploiting elements**—the task of an offensive against the Kulak." (Ibid p.xlvi.)

Consequently, even the possibility of limiting the growth of the Kulak elements was made dependent by Yakovlev upon the solution "of the basic and most difficult task": the socialist transformation of peasant economy. As for the liquidation of tre Kulak as a class. Yakovlev did not even raise the question. All this was two years ago.

Speaking of the necessity for the gradual transition from commercial cooperation to productive cooperation, that is, to collective farms, Yakovlev wrote: "This is the only road of cooperative development which really secures—**naturally, not in one-two-three years, maybe not in one decade—the socialist reconstruction of all of peasant economy.**" (Ibid, page xii). Let us notice carefully: "not in one-two-three years, maybe not in one decade."

"**Collective farms and communes,**" Yakovlev wrote in the same work, "are at the present time and will for **a long time yet** undoubtedly be **only islets in the sea of peasant economy,** since a **pre-condition** for their vitality is first of all a tremendous rise of **culture.**" (Ibid, page xxxvii, our emphasis).

Finally, in order to present the basis for the perspective of decades, Yaakovlev emphasized that:

"The creation of a mighty, rationally organized industry, capable of producing not only the means of consumption but also the means of production, which are imperative for national economy—this is the **pre-condition for a real cooperative socialist plan."** (Ibid, page xliii).

This is how matters appeared in recent times when Yakovlev, in the capacity of a member of the Central Control Commission, exiled the Opposition to the East for an assault upon the rights of the Kulak and the bureaucracy, and for the endeavor to accelerate collectivization. In the struggle for the official course of that time, the course towards the "strong peasant", against the conscienceless and spiteful criticism on the part of the Opposition"—the actual words in the article mentioned—Yakovlev considered that the collective farms "will for a long time yet undoubtedly be only islets"—not even islands, but islets!—"in the sea of peasant economy", for the socialist reconstruction of which "more than once decade will be needed. If two years ago, Yakovlev proclaimed, in contrast to the Opposition, that even the simple limitation of the Kulak can only be a passing result of socialist reconstruction of all of peasant economy in the course of a series of decades—then today, in the capacity of people's commissar of agriculture, he undertakes "to liquidate the Kulak as a class" in the course of two or three sowing campaigns. By the way—this was yesterday: today Yakovlev expresses himself in theses much more enigmatically...and this sort of gentleman which is incapable of thinking anything through seriously, still less capable of foreseeing anything, accuses the Opposition of..."conscienceleasness", and on the basis of this accusation arrest, exile and even shoot. Two years ago—beause the Opposition pushed them on to the road of collectivization and industrialization; today — because it restrains the collectivizers from adventurism.

Here it is, the pure culture of bureaucratic adventurism.

The Right Wing Moves Closer to Social Democracy

Since the formation of organized Right wing groups in the Communist movement, we of the Left Opposition have contended that an independent existence for any length of time of a current in the labor movement that swings between Communism and social democracy is out of the question. We pointed out that the Right wing groups (Brandler, Lovestone, Sellier, Hais, etc.,) were developing to a logical conclusion the theory of Stalin-Bucharin according to which a socialist society could be constructed on a national scale. We warned that all theoretical thought and historical experiences spoke for the idea that these Right wing groups must necessarily go the whole way to the organized social democracy, return to the Stalinist camp,—or so far as the workers in it are concerned—find in the program of the Left Opposition the only revolutionary solution of the crisis in our movement.

To dispute this at the present time is to turn one's back deliberately upon events and established facts. The recent period has produced a quantity of aditional evidence to confirm our analysis.

A Heavy Defeat for Brandlerism

In Germany, the Right wing led by Brandler and Thalheimer has just suffered a crushing defeat in the Saxony elections. While the comrades of the Left Opposition —reserving their duty of criticism—carried on a campaign to have the Saxon workers vote for the Communist list, the Brandler group again sought to split the revolutionary ranks by setting up their own candidates. The result was that after weeks of boasting, the Brandlerites lost one-third of the votes cast for them at the 1928 Landtag elections. The demoralization subsequently created in the ranks of the Right wing is evident from a reading of the Brandler press itself. The Right wing workers, captivated by the fantastic ideas of Brandler and Thalheimer that the masses of Communistic workers would swing along, were left speechless by the Saxony results.

The upshot is a thoroughgoing "revaluation of values" in the Brandler group. More outspoken voices are being heard for a second Party, or for unity with the Left social democratic splitters chipped off the paretn body. The path adopted by the Brandlerites of moving away from the official Party—and from Communism—leads logically to the "advanced" step already taken by their French allies (Sellier, Dunois, Gelis & Co.), and further.

In France, as we have already reported, the Right wing has broken completely with Communism. The Sellier group has organized a purely parliamentary "Workers and Peasants Party", adopting "legitimately" the Stalinist theories of such parties for the Orient. The absence of the very word "Communist" in their name is simply symbolic of the whole character of this movement. The policy of vacillating between the Communists and socialists, however, is very short-lived in France. Already, one of the leading members of the W.P.P. in France, Amedee Dunois, has formally joined the Socialist Party That this new draft of Frossards will yield up many more than one Dunois to the S.P. is manifes to anybody that reads its journal, **Ca Ira.**

The Czech Right Wing Travels Fast

But the most striking instance of the flight to social democracy by the international Right wing is furnished by its Czecho-Slovakian section, one flank of which has formally joined the socialist party bag and baggage. We refer to the socalled "Brunn Opposition" led by Dr. Ecer and Kovanda. These eminent companions of Lovestone and Brandler have now "gone to the masses" in precisely the manner we foretold some time ago.

That is not all. The second partner in the Czech Right wing the trade unions led by Josef Hais which split away from the R.I.L.U. have now been formally brought into the Czech national reformist trade union federation, i. e., the Amsterdam International. Lovestone is not a bit put out by this open capitulation; on the contrary, he greets it by writing (**Revolutionary Age,** No. 18):

"The campaign for trade union unity in Czecho-Slovakia has taken another step forward under the driving force of the Communist Oppositiin movement."

But why was this "unity" not realized with the Red trade unions, still containing some 50-60,000 members and affiliated with the R.I.L.U.? Since when must unity be achieved by capitulation to the yellow banner of Jouhaux and Co? No answer to this from Lovestone. The fact remains that confronted with the choice of unity with the revolutionary trade union center or with the Amsterdam center, Hais chose Amsterdam.

The international Right wing hails this as an achievement for their policy of trade union unity. And it is. Their policy of unity for its own sake results in practise in capitulation to reformism instead of the realization of the revolutionary united front. It is interesting to note, parenthetically, that Hais' treachery is too much for the stomach of at least one Right wing leader, Neurath, who does not deceive himself that the "unity" is a great step forward, but writes, in a bitter letter of reproach to Hais: "An unconditional amalgamation with the C.O.S. (reformist federation) would have the practical significance of the heaviest blow against the revolutionary proletariat of Czecho-Slovakia."

As for the third, "pure Opposition" group of the Right wing in Czecho-Slovakia, it has also contributed its quota to the social democratic party in the form of two of its leaders who, at the recent conference of the former, announced their formal retirement from Communism and return to the old, "solid", love-

Who is Disintegrating and How?

Our reader will recall the announcement by Lovestone—made all the more vociferously because there were no facts to base it on—that "the Trotskyists are disintegrating". The events of recent months speak eloquently. They show who is really disintegrating, and where the particles are going. The Right wing is either capitulating to Stalin, as in Russia, or to the social democracy. The Left Opposition, denounced by Lovestone as "counter-revolutionaries"; "disintegrated Trotskyists" to which Lovestone now addresses hypocritical, humble and public appeals for a united front (and not-so-public appeals to and capitulatory negotiations with Musteite leaders), marches forward with renewed strength towards revolutionary unity.

—S—n.

A Saslavsky Doesn't Change

One of the most loyal pillars of the Stalinist regime is the feature writer of **Pravda,** Saslavsky. When one reads how and what Saslavsky writes about counter-revolutionary Trotskyism, memories of 1917 rise to confront one. In those days Saslavsky wrote articles too, in fact quite similar ones, almost with the same words. Only not in **Pravda.** "Against the German agent, Lenin" was Saslavsky's motto then. Lenin demanded at that time that the masses be told of the kind of "knaves" the "Miliukovs and Hessens. Saslavskys and Dans" are! Yes, Saslavsky has remained his old self. But what a threatening symptom that the hounding of Bolshevism can now be carried on by the same Saslavsky in the columns of **Pravda** only because he now writes "Trotsky" instead of "Lenin" and instead of "Bolshevism"—"Trotskyism"!

Group vs. Branch Banking

A Struggle of Interests in the Ranks of the Capitalist Class

The capitalist class of the United States and its government are now debating branch and group banking while the consolidation and merger of bank capital is proceeding fast and already has the material base for executing the needs of the dominating group in law, etc. Financial capitalism dates back to the beginning of the century and this phase has been more marked since the world war.

The crisis of 1893 to 1900 and the Spanish-American War witnessed a new stage of the ushering in of financial capitalism with America playing an important role. The industrial consolidation most marked after the crisis of 1873 was at the beginning of the century transformed into a consolidation of a higher stage, of the fusion of bank capital and industry. The monopolies, trust and consolidations "organized" capitalism on a higher plane, intensifying and enlarging the basic contradictions of the capitalist mode of production.

The period following this, culminating in the crisis of 1914, followed by war and revolutions saw the process of consolidation in the world and especially in the United States move at an accelerated pace in all branches of industry toward the pivot point of financial capitalism. "Thus is competition transformed into monopolies. We see before us the giant process of socialization of production. Particularly is the process of technical inventions and improvements also being socialized." *

The controversy of the different groups of capitalists and their Washington office boys is hidden behind the discussion of branch vs. group banking. The Federal Reserve Act strengthening the financial control over the country but not an eliminator or remedy for economic cycles as claimed before the depression of 1921 and 1930, and the McFadden Bill of 1927 which sanctioned branch banking by Congress as the first step—is now being followed by more acts for the benefit of the financial groups.

The great number of bank failures in the last decade, over 5,000 mainly in the South and West, where the agrarian crisis reached its deepest points has accelerated the consolidation movement as the natural outgrowth in reorganization when the big fish eat the little. The chain bank has the outward appearance of the ordinary unit, the "independent" bank of the country, but one bank controls the major stock of the chain. The group bank is controlled by the owners of the majority stock who organize a corporation or holding company and control the resources of the group in a given area. The branch bank is the highest stage of the consolidation movement in the vertical extension.

The majority of leading banking authorities admits that the present stage of the consolidation movement in the country is only in a transition stage. Long ago a few leading banks, Chase, etc., already had control of the majority of the resources and are in a world commanding position. The branch banking system of other imperialist nations, due to their economic unit difference, developed at a faster rate than in America. Such countries as England, France and Germany with large colonial possessions before the war gave this movement impetus but the different form taken in different countries, adapted to local conditions does not alter in the least the content of the transformation to financial capitalism in these countries.

In this country with the Federal Reserve System, the higher development of the consolidation and the branch banking system will alter and create a new role for the system to cope with the changing forces. "Too many banks in the country," is the note of the financier, and "consolidate and survive" is the remedy advocated now for banks as it was the remedy after the crisis of 1873 for too many manufacturing establishments. TheMcFadden Bill of 1927 was to "protect" the unit bank just like the Anti-Trust Law of the '90's was to protect the lesser industrial units. Both laws proved to be stepping stones for further consolidation and now the financiers are ready for the next step.

The dominating financier and his office boys favor branch banking while the lesser financial groups of the agriculture and industrial areas favor group banking. Some of the large industrialists favor group banking while the small fry and the petty-bourgeois elements are fighting to prevent any kind of consolidation and retain the unit bank affiliated with the Federal Reserve System or with "safe" charters.

The Comptroller of Currency, Pole, who was the first to advocate branch banking is an outstanding advocate of all measures to hurry the process. Governor Young of the Federal Reserve Board also favors branch banking. The hearing in the House Banking and Currency Committee had the following representatives favoring branch banking: Luce of Mass., Stevens of S. C., Seiberling of Ohio, Dunbar of Indiana. Branch of Georgia and Beedy of Maine favor branch banking but want trade area limitations.

E.W.Decker, Pres. N.W.Bancorporation and L.T.Wakefield, Vice-Pres., First Bank and Stock Corp., both of Mineapolis, Minn., favor group banking and say they will fight branch banking in the Minnesota territory. Robert O. Lord, Pres., Guardian Detroit Union Group, Inc., and Geo. F. Rand, Marine Midland Corp. of Buffalo, also favor group banking in opposition to branch banking. These four leaders in their areas are head of group banks and fear the further logical step of financial capitalism in consolidations.

Several of the largest banks of the country, dealing in international loans, are reaping big profits in their present role in world exploitation and although not openly leading the movement are, nevertheless, playing their usual sly game. The Chase National Bank is the largest in the world. The December 31, 1929 report gives the following figures: Total Deposits, $2,673,-645,000. Total resources, $2,,814,536,000. Capital surplus and individed profits, $368,-000,000. Their control, industrially and politically in the deciding affairs, combined with the other financiers is being questioned less each day.

Lenin, in "Imperialism", says, "Monopoly is an outgrowth of banks. From modest intermediaries they have been transformed into monopolies of finance capital. Some three to five of the largest banks of any of the most developed capitalist nations have realized a 'personal union' between industrial and banking capital; they have concentrated into their hands the control of many billions, which make up the greatest part of capital and money of the whole nation. A financial oligarchy spreads a thick network of dependencies over the economic and politican institutions of modern capitalist society without exception—this is the most glaring consequence of monopoly."

Branch or group banking gives the financier greater industrial and political control in the areas. These sectional groups will have their inner-class struggle for the spoils but unity on all issues against the industrialists, the farmers and petty-bourgeoisie is assured when determining factors are at stake. And unity against the proletariat cannot be questioned.

The number of banks in the United States have diminished with consolidation but we still have 24,695 banks. 21,824 are unit banks and 6,353 are branch or group banks. According to these figures the unit bank is still far in the lead but according to control of the resources the unit bank is already a back number. Gov. Young of the Federal Reserve Board informs us, "that all the banks had total loans and investments of $58,500,000,000, of which the group and branch system held $30,000,000,-000 or more than half.".** This small group controlling over half of the resources is further narrowed when we consider that 269 groups with 1,922 banks have $15,285,100,000 resources considering the period of October' 1929 to June' 1930 and this is further narrowed when we consider the several large banks of the nation showing concentration of the majority of wealth in the hands of a few.

The process is at work in all nations and especially since the beginning of the century. Lenin, in Imperialism giving Shilder's figures, says, "In 1904 England had 50 colonial banks with 2,279 branches (in 1910—72 colonial banks with 5.449 branches); France had 20 colonial banks with 136 branches; Holland 16, with 68 branches; Germany 'only' 13 with 70 branches."

Today, the "Big Five" in England, Midland Bank, Lloyds Bank, Barclay Bank, Westminister Bank and National Provincial Bank control almost 10 billions in assets and have over 8,000 branches. Prof.F.E.Lee of the University of Illinois says, *** "Between 1880-1924 the Midland Bank absorbed 31 other banks many of which were virtually banking systems in themselves with numerous branches." Between 1900 and 1922, moreover, many additional absorptions took place which have raised this bank (Barclay — Ed.) with more than 2,000 branches in England and Wales to the position in point of view of resources among the "Big Five". Each of these banks (Big Five—Ed.) for the last four years have maintained profits well exceeding L2,000,-000 (appr. $10,000,000) per year, which serves to furnish conclusive evidence of their importance in the banking world."

The strong position the United States financier holds on the international market will enable him to organize his home base as fast as the changes seem necessary. No matter how capable they are in organizing their financial structure, the bourgeois theory, that it will eliminate the economic cycles has already been disproven by life itself. These theories will take new form with the ebb and flows but the transformation of these conjunctural crises to revolutionary crises will sweep the material foundation away, and consequently the stack of cards built upon it.

—H.

* Lenin, Imperialism.

** Am. Banker, June, 1930

*** Am. Banker, April, 1930

Where Does the Italian Opposition Stand?

Writing about the crisis in the Italian Communist Party, the last issue of **Revolutionary Age** declares: "Not only has comrade Amadeo Bordiga been expelled as a Trotskyite but there is a new wave of the so-called 'right opposition' which was supposed to have been destroyed with the expulsion of comrade Serra (Tasca). The emergence of this Communist Opposition is one of the most hopeful signs in the Italian Communist movement." The rest of the article continues in the same vein, that is, it deliberately attempts to create the impression that the new Opposition in the Italian C.P. is of a piece with the international Right wing of Brandler, Lovestone, Hais and Co.

Nothing could be further from the truth, as is quite well known to the editors of **Revolutionary Age!** The comrades of the new Italian Opposition, as Lovestone is well aware from the foreign press, have constantly fought against the opportunist policies of the expelled head (and body, one might add) of the Italian Right wing, Tasca. In an Open Letter to the members of the Italian Party recently issued for the Opposition by comrades Santini, Blasco and Feroci expelled from the Political Bureau and the Party, and Teresa R. of the Central Committee, we read:

"Our Opposition, developing to its consequences the criticism it had undertaken under the pressure of events in Italy and internationally, when we wanted to trace the complex international questions, as is the task of every proletarian current, was bound to orientate itself towards the international Left Opposition which has for many years been conducting a campaign of clarification and orientation with which our Opposition emphasizes its accord... All the facts that have been proved within the International and Soviet Russia have confirmed that the international Left Opposition is the only one that saw correctly, that posed and solved in a Bolshevik manner the problems of the revolution in the course of these last years, and struggled with great energy against the errors of the International, on the theory of socialism in one country, and the industrialization plan of Soviet Russia as well as on the Communist policy towards the peasants, or the questions of the revolution in Orient, and all the fundamental questions of the international movement."

This hardly looks like accord with Lovestone and his international allies! It seems that the latter, who so systematically lose their troops to the social democracy, are continuing desperately to show a good front of strength, even if it has to be manufactured out of the growing ranks of the international Left Opposition! But though Lovestone is an old hand at fabrications against "Trotskyism", his game is becoming ever more transparent.

Stalinists Lose Their Heads in Boston

The Party is breaking up the New International Hall; it is hard to say whether they are doing it consciously or unconsciously. The N.I.H. is one of the finest institutions in the country. It belonged to the Left wing movement. The building was bought when the Left wing movement began to develop in this country. The two branches, the John Reed Branch, 718, Workmens Circle, and Branch 18, Independent Workmens Circle were the two largest branches in Boston, and also the stronghold of the Left wing movement. These two branches with a membership of 400 bought many shares and certificates, and practically all the income for the New International Hall came from them. The New International Hall was not only the center of the Left wing, but it was also considered more as a home for the working class.

New Crimes on Stalinism's Law Books

The first crime of the John Reed branch, 718, Workmen's Circle, was that with a majority of the branch membership they decided to invite comrade Cannon to speak at their meeting, and then the branch did not obey the orders of the Party to leave the Workmen's Circle. (Seems that the branch did not believe in the 3rd period.) For their crimes they were thrown out of their own building and became, by the new vocabularly, counter-revolutionists, Trotskyites, enemies of the Soviet Union, etc.

Now comes Branch 18, Independent Workmen's Circle which committed similar "crimes": 1. Branch 18, I.W.C., did not obey the splitting policy of the Stalinists and remained in the I.W.C. 2. The branch invited the following "counter-revolutionists" to speak at their meetings: A.F. Konikov, one of the founders of the C.P. and well known as an active member of the Communist League of Boston. Also the Party feels especially rotten because comrade Shachtman was invited to speak at the branch while he was in Boston.

The handful of Stalinists decided to throw out Branch 18, I.W.C., also. They first tried the diplomatic way of raising their rent; but when they found that this maneuver would not work, they called a meeting of their own boys and "unanimously" voted that Branch 18, I.W.C. also be expelled as a member of the Institute. Accordingly notice was sent to Branch 18, I.W.C. to move from the N.I.H. not later than August 1, 1930 (The registered letter was received, Monday, July 7, 1930). It should be especially interesting to read the following paragraph of the letter which shows how low the Stalinist sank:

"Also Branch 18, I.W.C. invites speakers that are openly against the policy of the Workingmen's Educational Institute and against the Left wing labor movement in general to speak, lecture and slander the principles that this institute stands for; speakers like Dr. A. F. Konikov, and M. Shachtman, etc., whose policy is to attack the Soviet and to disrupt the activity of the workingclass movement."

Splitters of the Left wing movement, you are not ashamed to state that the policies of comrades Shachtman and Konikov, etc.. are to attack the Soviet Union and to disrupt the activity of the workingclass movement! The workers in Boston do not believe you any more!

The Party's Progress....

Yes, the Party in Boston is making progress.... Let us state the last victory, which concerns the Chelsea Labor Lyceum. The Labor Lyceum was in the hands of the Left wing movement, but since the Party began the discrimination of the Left wingers to their rotten policies, the Right wing controls the Labor Lyceum. Now the New International Hall is in a deficit of $3,000. If the Party will continue its rotten policy the N.I.H. will swing over to the mortagers.

We are calling upon the Left wingers not to let the Stalinists break up the New of Boston, Roxbury and Dorchester, etc., International Hall as they have done with the Chelsea Labor Lyceum. These two institutions have a Communist history. For the consequences they will afterwards blame the Trotskyites, renegades, counter-revolutionists, etc....

This is the 3rd period! Long live Stalin! We are progressing! We gain one victory after another.

But a few more victories like these will be more than even the Party can stand.

—L. SCHLOSSBERG

A Review and Criticism

The Communists in the South

By HUGO OEHLER

(9) By the time the new forces had arrived, July 12th, Dunne, Wagenknecht, Drew, Martin and others had started the work of reorganizing and preparing the ground for the defense of our leaders in jail. The worst of the reaction had subsided and the new cycle was well on its way. This followed the indictments and called for organization around this issue. Our main office had been moved to Charlotte, a larger town some thirty miles from Gastonia. We collected the scattered forces, issued dues cards to new members and started collecting initiation from new members and dues from old ones. The Bessemer City and Gastonia meetings were enlarged and spread over the entire area to every mill town, step by step in an organized fashion. Organizational work of establishing mill locals was started. Our first objective was a conference at Bessemer City July 28, a day before the opening of the trial.

(j) We readily realized that the technical situation of the N.T.W.U. was a handicap, that our National Office was in a bad shape—a reflection already of the new line of mechanical swing from the reactionary unions to new unions. According to our constitution all applications must be sent to N.Y. from the South and they made out dues cards and mailed them back. In stable, well-functioning locals this may work—but not in company mill towns where all mail is the first pick of the bosses and, more important, when we were in the middle of a drive, recruiting new members by the hundreds, who prized the dues book more than anything and a drive among new recruits to union organization of any kind. Why the force before us allowed this method to continue and hamper their work I do not understand. We found over 500 dues books piled up at our Charlotte office and hundreds of disgusted workers because they waited so long for a book and did not get any. In normal times the delay would be too much for such drives. We soon put an end to this method.

The Bessemer City Conference rolled around and showed:

1. We had the textile workers of the whole area behind us with a couple of hundred delegates, mainly from the Gastonia area and over 1,500 workers attending.

2. The delegation, all American born workers accepted our program unanimously through policy and not mechanical control.

(k) The Southern fraction failed to obtain any Negro delegates to the convention, even after some were elected.

The parade in Gastonia that the center informed us to call off for fear of a riot was agreed to by us, but I had been the last one to accept it and as far as my knowledge goes the prisoners were the first to protest the idea of the parade.

Following the Bessemer City successful conference came a change of venue to Charlotte for August 26th. The Bessemer conference had instructed all members to be present in court Monday morning and the hot day found our forces well represented in Gastonia that whole day and a packed courtroom mostly of textile workers in their working clothes.

The unions and other organizations cooperating intensified our work in the coming weeks and the union picnic of August 25th at Mt. Holly was jointly with the preliminary I.L.D. conference a day before the second trial. We progressed in the following activity. Plans were well under way for the Charlotte October 12-13 convention of the newly organized district as the outgrowth of the Bessemer conference. Our literature covered the whole field and the South. The **Labor Defender** and the **Daily Worker** played an invaluable role. The youth organizers from the North were pressed into union work to such a degree that their own field was neglected. They made excellent fighters. Mass union meeting and local union meetings, closed and open were held in all mill towns, we had three to four in progress each night. The number of mill locals increased with our work.

(1) By this time the slogan of frame-up was changed to self-defense and I supported Dunne on this. In the field, covering meetings every day, meetings of determined workers who were only able to hold these meetings each time we first organized a force strong enough to let the boss know he had better not attack us; and with defense committees organized around each meeting I was carried away with the concrete situation as others of the Southern fraction were.

The right of self-defense was a living reality with us and without it our organizers were the dead force. However, the the situation in the field and the slogan as a national one to rally broad masses of all shades of political beliefs in the workers' camp for the one big issue was against this frame up and the self-defense issue should have nationally been a secondary issue regardless of what the reality of our concrete meetings were. This is not an excuse for me—just facts—but does not justify the position. More harmful than this was the I.L.D. "united front" campaign we will deal with later.

The Mt. Holly picnic was a huge success and the second trial ended with a mistrial. A retrospection will show we followed up the attacks of the bosses' first degree charge with not one victory but a series of victories and consolidated our forces in this area and extended agitationally in many other centers of the South.

(10) By the end of August the leading field fraction committee could feel increased action and plans against us, a preparation of the bosses for a drive on us. Our feeling was based on daily observation and reports from the field. The full fraction was put on a military base to the dislike and protest of several of the fraction members who joked about it. We prepared according to conditions and on September 9th, Saturady afternoon a mob of several hundred, overseers, bosses and part of the committee of 100 included with the "law's" protection, with rifles, clubs and blackjacks assembled at a meeting place in South Gastonia, chased all comers away and attacked a speaker's car and beat up the occupants. It was the beginning of the open drive on us. The speakers were lucky to get out with such little damage.

This brought home a warning and the reality of the situation to the rest of the comrades. We prepared to answer this with a mass meeting there, our regular Saturday one the next week and with a week's mobilization for it. Monday the mistrial brought the second trial to an end and that night the black hundreds rode led by Bulwinkle and Solicitor Carpenter, swept three counties, raided three offices, looked everywhere for all organizers they could lay hand on, destroyed records they could find and kidnapped Wells, Saylors and Lell and were not fortunate in obtaining the others or our main records due mainly to our early preparations and possibly to luck.

Our mass meetings were stopped except in Charlotte where the first one held after the raids shows the workers 100 per cent behind us and a good defense corps ready for anything. While the black hundreds hal free reign for the following period we were daily going to mill locals in the area and setting up an underground apparatus. The fact that we had over two dozen mill locals, functioning well for such workers new at organization saved the day and laid the basis for our comeback and also prevented the black hundreds from driving us out of the whole area. The secret mill local meetings were the reasons for the mob follow up in small bands. They aimed to stop them, to get the speakers and organizers, break up the work for October 12-13 and defeat our work for the next trial. They succeeded in taking Cleo Tessener, our King Mt. organizer out on the night of September 18.

Fair progress under these difficult conditions was being made for the Saturday counter-attack of our forces. Each night textile workers from locals in the rea took turns and sacrificed the night as guards near the jail in Charlotte where our comrades were prisoners to prevent another attempt to lynch them. The action of the police in the immediate preceeding period proved not to us, who were already convinced) but to the textile workers, that they could not be depended upon and this law was the bosses' law and not our law.

Our progress for Saturday received a big set back on September 12 when the Charlotte police raided our organizers' house one block from the jail, took our weapons and ammunition of defense, arrested comrade Saul, Martin and five others and charged them with "attempt to overthrow the government of N.C." This charge did not get to first base but it had its desired effect of disorganizing our force and taking our defense weapons while the black hundreds were arming everyday for Saturday.

From the governor to the policeman the "law and order" program was a policy of hands off the bosses' black hundreds and search and seizure of the textile workers old rusty hunting guns. The policy was in well oiled shape Saturday when the bands of the bosses black hundreds of overseers, foremen, hired gunmen and reactionary organization forces rode every road in and around Gastonia in high powered cars with guns held high. In every mill town they dispersed the textile workers headed for So. Gastonia when possible. This culminated in the murder of Ella May, a murder committed by the mill owners, their police, the Governor's force and their thugs to carry out the work. The other organizers who took part in the Saturday attempt to get to So. Gastonia ended with their narrow escape.

What's Going On in China?

Continued from Page 1)

conditions in China cried out for independent Communist leadership, for the arming of the workers and peasants, for the unleashing the forces of revolt in the cities and the country-side against both the Chinese and the foreign bourgeoisie. In the name of the "democratic dictatorship" which "could not be skipped" and the bloc of all classes, the Stalin-Bucharin regime worked hand in hand with the Chiang Kai-Sheks and Wang Chin Weis to stifle the mass movement. To the extent that the Stalin regime is responsible for the leadership of the present "Communist armies" ("Communist" today and with Feng or Chiang tomorrow) it is guilty of hindering the real mobilization of the masses for the class struggle.

The Correctness of the Opposition

There is deep discontent and acute suffering in the country. How great the revolutionary tidal wave was when the Russian Opposition wrote its platform, and how correct was its prognosis is evidenced by the fact that three years after the crushing of the Canton insurrection and the industrial proletariat, the movement of 1925-6-7 still finds a belated echo on the countryside. But the peasantry is no independent social force. Its liberation from landlordism and feudal elements, the nationalization of the land and its redistribution can be achieved as the Russian revolution demonstrated, neither in alliance with the bourgeoisie nor by its own independent action, but in alliance with and under the leadership of the industrial proletariat. The democratic revolution, the essence of which is the agrarian revolution, can, in other words, be realized only by the socialist dictatorship, which nationalizes the basic industries and establishes worker's control. The agrarian revolution by itself cannot solve the problems of the Chinese revolution It can only be one phase of the struggle against world imperialism. The national unification of China and its customs independence—that it the monopoly of foreign trade, will be ushered in under the dynamic action of the proletariat.

There is no "short cut' 'to the revolution. The "easy" ways of opportunism and putschism prove in the end the longest ways. The need of the hour in China is to rally the masses against the counter-revolutionary ruling bourgeois cliques. The Communist Party must root itself again in the industrial proletariat, cement its alliance with the poor peasantry ,and organize the great masses around a program of partial demands with the Constituent Assembly as the focal point. And the struggle against foreign imperialist intervention, a hindrance to any revolutionary progress, must be taken up in earnest.

—MAURICE SPECTOR.

KLORKEIT No. 4

Note that the fourth number of Klorkeit, organ of the Jewish Left Opposition group in France, has arrived. It contains among other articles the fourth installment of comrade Trotsky's "The Third Period of the Mistakes of the Comintern."

Send orders and funds to

THE MILITANT

25 Third Avenue New York, N. Y

Strong-Arm Stalinism Defeated in N. Y.

The corner of 125th Street and 5th Ave., a working class section, has been occupied every Saturday night by speakers of the Communist League of America (Opposition), New York branch, for two summers. Every week, from two to four hundred workers have gathered regularly to hear our point of view on current questions. The neighborhood being well populated by Russian White emigres also, our speakers have constantly been confronted with their hecklers who attempt to influence the workers against Communism and the Russian workers' republic. Their atacks were always easily met by our comrades, although the White guards persist, and recently have begun to throw water-bags and tomatoes from the roofs and windows.

At the last few meetings, however, the White guard scum has found an unexpected ally in the attempt to break up our meetings. That ally consists of a couple of hooligans, parading under the name of the official Comfunist party, who try to break up the meetings by violence. On July 26th, when only four of our comrades were present at the meeting a gang of 30-40 Stalinist hoodlums commenced a concentrated fire of shouting, booing, heckling and disturbance while comrades Jane and Max Rose were speaking in defense of the Soviets which were being calumniated by the Whites. Towards the end of the meeting, they made a rush for the platform, one or two of them mounted it to shout a few of the stock "slogans against Trotskyism" they learned from Browder, and then disappeared into the night.

The following week, August 2, another group of Party members, accompanied by the same drunken individual who had led the assault the week before, appeared at the meeting while comrade Max Shachtman was speaking to some 400 workers. For over an hour, this young bully carried on a disgraceful shouting down of the speaker, who was explaining the reasons for the Fish Committee "investigation" of Communism. He was evidently trying to whip the Party members present into a frenzy, preparatory to rushing the platform again, but his conduct was so scandalous that when Shachtman asked the other Party members if they agreed with his actions, they answered publicly in the negative!

The White Guards assisted the Stalinist hooligan by continuing to throw water-bags and vegetables from concealed spots, until the workers in the audience, outraged by the arrogance of the disrupter, helped our comrades remove him fromthe scene.

Other Party members remained, and together with non-Party workers, asked numerous questions in a comradely manner. They realized that the conduct of the disrupter only discredited Communism and the C. P. in the eyes of the workers. The tactics of some Stalinists, inspired by their leaders, of roving the streets in search of workers' meetings to break up only ends, as it must, in alienating every honest worker from the Party.

The Opposition, of course, will continue to hold its meetings in public, to defend them against White Guard Russians' and even against Stalinists when that is necessary.

Φ

A CORRECTION ON CHINA

The Militant is glad to correct a false impression it left in a previous issue concerning the groupings within the Chinese Communist movement. Our attention was called to it by comrade Niel-Sih who wrote us from Shanghai: "By the way, a mistake is made by you in saying that the Chinese Left Opposition published the organ **The Proletarian.** In fact, it is the Right Opposition group, led by Chen Du-Siu (former secretary of the C.P.) who publishes **The Proletarian.** The **Our Word** group which wrote to you that they would publish **the Proletarian** never realized its plan until this name was adopted by the Right Opposition group which is now masking itself in Left Opposition phrases. The three chief currents in the Opposition movement in China are the ultra-Left **Our Word,** the Left **October** group, and the Right **Proletarian.**"

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53

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Blumkin's Successor

Stalin and his Agabekov

The White Guard emigration is celebrating a new victory of which we have already spoken in the Militant. A new Soviet agent, Agabekov, has just passed into its camp; he is under the special protection of the agents of Tardieu. The triumph of the Whites is not without grounds: a responsible collaborator of the G.P.U. has passed over to their camp. He is preparing or has already prepared a book in which he reveals the activity of the G.P.U. in the East. The model for this type of book has been furnished by Bessedovsky: the secrets and the clandestine affairs which are inevitably bound up with the class struggle of the workers' government against the imperialist foes are intermingled by these gentlemen of invention and calumny, according to the taste of their masters.

Who Agabekov Is

The White press has already given a lively account of the great services rendered by yesterday's Stalinist, Bessedovsky, to the Rumanian Siguranza by his revelations on the Soviet government. Agabekov begins by giving directly the address of the secret agency abroad. At his work of denunciation, he passed the last few months in Constantinople where he arrived directly from Moscow. So it is not a matter of an official who passed a few years abroad without leaving and who "broke away" from his country. No, it is a matter of a man tested in a long-lasting work at Moscow itself, named quite recently to a new post. He is a man doubly tested, that is, from the point of view of his work and from the point of view of the Party line. Had he not been, Agabekov would not have been named for a post still fresh from the death of Blumkin. For such is the irony of the fate of Stalin: having killed Blumkin he found nobody to replace him with than Agabekov.

Now we receive first-hand confirmation: **Agabekov has stated to journalists that Blumkin was shot for his "Trotskyism"**, and that he, Agabekov, was called to Moscow as an unbending supporter of the general line. He was initiated into the whole situation, from the angle of his special work as well as of "Trotskyism". Experts of Stalinism like Menzhinsky, Iagoda, Trilisser (didn't they take Yaroslavsky into this thing as a partner?) did not find the slightest blemish on the political face of Agabekov.

After an examination, and an authorized instruction, he was sent to Constantinople to replace Blumkin, shot a while before by Stalin. And immediately after his arrival, Agabekov began to write a book, or rather a report to the agents of world imperialism on the secret work of the G.P.U. and the Comintern in the East. The book finished, he went with it to Paris and immediately placed himself under the protections of Tardieu's agents.

The trustworthy diplomat of Stalin, Bessedovsky, before leaping over the Embassy wall to render his services to the Rumanian Siguranza, disposed of all the affairs and the documents belonging to Rakovsky. That is not all. Bessedovsky participated directly in the expulsion of Rakovsky from the Party. Christian Georgevitch Rakovsky was not "trustworthy" enough: in the first place, he did not admit that a genuine Russian socialism could be constructed with the Kulak, and then he denied that the Kulak could be suppressed in two years by means of the G.P.U. And, "untrustworthy" and "inconsistent" element that he was, Rakovsky was placed under conditions that prevent him from continuing his revolutionary work, uninterrupted for forty years, and which expose him to physical ruin. Death for Rakovsky! The open road for the Bessedovskys!

The Breach in Stalin's Monolithism

Beginning with 1924, a rule was established in the G.P.U., then in the army, by virtue of which Communists not only have to fulfill their duty towards the Party, but they must also think every minute like the Central Committee. Subsequently, the rule was extended to the whole Party and rounded out with another: the Central Committee must think like Stalin. After this, Stalinist monolithism seemed to be 100 percent guaranteed. But now a breach is opened; not having the right to think, to doubt, or to reason, the monolithic Stalinists have begun to jump directly from the heights of their responsible posts to the French , British and Rumanian Secret Service. In full battle array of Stalin-Bucharin against the Trotskyists, the Centrists drag behind them an immense reactionary tail which beats them over the head. The Bessedovskys, the Agabekovs are a part of this heavy tail. Debauched Thermidorians have completely revealed themselves abroad, for there there is only a wall to separate them from their real master. And in the U.S.S.R.? How many are there like Bessedovsky and Agabekov in every institution, in every region, in every district? Who could count them, when they are themselves to be counted? Who will purge the Party of them, when it is they who purge it of others? Who will perceive their "hesitations", when they never hesitate until they have completely betrayed?

The International Opposition would not be worthy of its name if it were not capable of drawing all the necessary conclusions from the Agabekov affair and of explaining them to the Communist workers. Every member of the C.I. must be obliged to examine fundamentally the fact that Blumkin, the irreproachable soldier of the revolution, was shot by Stalin for "Trotskyism". In place of Blumkin was put the loyal Stalinist, Agabekov who passed over immediately to the service of the imperialist police.

The Agabekovs constitute an enormous layer of the Stalinist bureaucracy: they are a legitimate product of the Stalinist regime. Functionaries can close their eyes to these facts. The revolutionary worker must discern the grave peril from these symptoms. —A.

A Slanderer Answered

Who and Where Are the Real Deserters?

The most revolting collection of slanders yet produced in the "struggle against Trotskyism" appeared in the **Daily Worker** on July 29, 1930. The individual best fitted by nature for this scavenger's job is, of course, Earl Browder. In this article, Browder sinks to a depth we had previously imagined nobody in the Communist movement could reach.

The "Final" Merger

That he repeats for the hundreth time, like a creature whose mind is wandering, that we have "finally" merged with the Lovestone group is of little consequence, for the workers in the movement know he is lying as he lied on previous occasions. Party comrades now know that this Stalinist floor-walker speaks so incessantly about the Trotsky-Lovestone "unity" in order to make them forget the real Browdre-Lovestone united front which expelled the Left Opposition from the Party, burglarized us, and used gangsters to break up our meetings.

Nor will any serious person be impressed when Browder writes: "They act as stool-pigeons and provocateurs in the class struggle in the United States". For does not every Communist know that it is Browder's international faction—not ours—which has produced Chiang Kai-Sheks, Purcells, Bessedovskys and Agabekovs without number?

It is when this paid employee of the Stalin clique speaks of "desertions" that he deserves his proper reply. This person who hides away comfortably in an obscure office writes of the two noted fighters who have recently adhered to our platform: ..

"Hugo Oehler deserted his post in the South at a difficult moment, without notice, and simply disappeared. When discovered later in Chicago, he was found in a pathological condition suffering form hallucinations, which was the only factor saving him then from expulsion from the Party. He is suffering from a serious case of paranoia. His 'conversion' to Trotskyism is a by-prouct of his mental breakdown. The case of George Saul differs somewhat; he ran away from a six months' sentence on the chain-gang in Carolina, covering up his desertion by leaving the Party and announcing himself as a Trotskyite."

Repelling as it is even to write about this garbage a few facts as well known to Browder as they are to us, must nevertheless be established. The unblemished records of comrades Oehler and Saul need no defense. It is sufficient to remind our readers that they fought for Communism and the textile workers in the South, under the daily threat of lynchings while their present detractors directed them from the safe vantage point of New York. That the "paranoiac" Oehler (Phillip Scheidemann used to say exactly that about Karl Liebknecht!) after his "desertion" from the South was offered the post of national secretary of the National Textile Workers Union and other responsible Party posts in New York and Chicago. That comrade Saul, after his "desertion", was made organizer for the International Labor Defense. That James Allander Party trade union director in Denver, wrote comrade Saul, under date of July 4, 1930, (after the "desertion"): "I was instructed by the Central Committee to take up with you, your coming into Denver to take the position of district organizer for our new district", etc., etc. That comrade Saul, now working in the Western wheat fields, has repeatedly written to the I.L.D. about getting back to the South on his case without receiving the slightest reply.

But since Browder has spoken about "desertions", let us ask a few really pertinent questions:

Karl Reeve put on his hat and coat in Charlotte when the Party fraution decided to go into Gastonia, and said, before he left to catch the train to New York: "You people can go down there and get lynched But I'm going home!" Is this not the same Reeve who was rewarded for his courage by being made Party district organizer in Minnesota by this same Browder?

Where is John Owen who left the South without permission? Where is Otto Hall who refused to go to Gastonia or any other part ofthe strike area? Where is J. W. Johnstone who refused to participate in the strike, saying: "I am not going to be made a fool of." Where is the president of the N.T.W., Jim Reid, who always refused to go to the South, was finally taken there almost by force, and then disappeared from Charlotte, turning up in New York and explaining his presence by the need to pay taxes on his Rhode Isand properties ! ? Where is George Pershing, who left the Bessemer City strike at the most critical moment without permission or notice and skipped North?

Is the Sroka who is still organizer for the N.T.W. the same Sroka who left the Pinevill strike without permission, so that the picket line collapsed and the strike was lost?

Is the Murdoch whom Browder just made secretary of the N.T.W. the same Murdoch who refused to heed the instructions to go to Elizabethton?

We could speak about more notorious cases, some of which will yet be heard from But not being stool-pigeons, we do not furnish the state prosecutors with information as to who skips bail or who runs away from sentences—even when there are such cases. This contemptible work we leave to the Browders who are so skilful at it . . . .

Why is Browder so recklessly venomous against the Opposition and its supporters? For two reasons. The first is a quite personal one. The Militant has already exposed this "revolutionist" as the banqueting campanion in China of the butcher of Canton's Communists, General Li Ti Sin. Browder dared not anl could not deny this, and it sticks in his craw.

The second reason for his bile is the growth of the Opposition in the face of all his attacks, both "literary" and gangsterist. The step taken by comrades Saul, Oehler and others recently has been additional proof that the truth of the Opposition continues to penetrate into the ranks of the Party, convincing its best workers. Naturally this enrages the Browders who have no ideological weapons with which to combat the Opposition, but only falsehood, calumny and thuggery. Their rage conceals their fear. The victory of the Marxist Opposition means an end to the Browders. Their spirit is incompatible with revolutionary movement.

Φ

As long as we still have capitalism and socialism, we cannot live peacefully—either one or the other will be the victor in the end. The obituary will have to be sung either over the death of world capitalism or the death of the Soviet Republic.—LENIN

Comrade A. C. Miller Suspended

At its recent meeting, the national committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition) adopted a decision to suspend comrade A.C.Miller, of Williston, No. Dakota, from the organization for a period of three months. The decision was caused by the failure of comrade Miller to acknowledge the correctness of the League's position in condemning the action he took in the recent North Dakota primaries. It was his position that since there was no Communist Party organization in the field, nor even a farmer-labor party or nonpartisan league, he was justified in running for the nomination to office on the primaries of the Republican Party so long as he announced himself as a Communist and advocated a Communist policy.

The national committee of the League took a categorically opposite stand to this action, which flies in the face of all the teachings of the leaders of the revolutionary movement, of decades of experience, and more directly, of the platform of the Opposition. To run, even as a Communist, on a Republican primary or list is to sow illusion and confusion in the minds of the workers and poor farmers. To take such an action is to create the illusion in their minds that the machinery of the bourgeois parties can be utilized to any extent by the toilers. In this particular instance, it was a repitition on a small scale of Townleyism (Non-Partisan League), against which revolutionists must conduct the most merciless struggle. The aim of the Communists is to separate the masses from the bourgeois parties, not to attach them.

Comrade Miller's position in the movement, and his years of devotion to the cause, convinced the national committee that the error arose out of an unclear understanding of the principles involved rather than a conscious departure from Communism. The three-months' suspension was therefore decided upon, as well as an attempt by correspondence to change the opinion of comrade Miller. In addition, it was decided, that should comrade Miller fail to acknowledge the complete incorrectness of his position at the end of the suspension period, his expulsion will follow automatically. It is the desire and hope of the national committee that this step can be avoided and comrade Miller return to his active functioning in the organization.

The Epoch of Stalin

Three years ago a certain Xenophon discovered that besides the epochs of Marx and Lenin there was still another: the epoch of Stalin.

At the 13th Convention of the Communist Party of White Russia that just took place it remained for Manuilsky to prove that this epoch puts that of Lenin in the shade. Manuilsky stated:

"Comrades, I ask you: when was the Party, even in the period when it stood under the gifted leadership of Ilitch, so consolidated, iron a power as today?"

From this deification of the Stalinist regime, which throttles every opinion in the Party, to a disguised accusation against Lenin ,who, as is known, "undermined the iron power" of the present Party by the methods of inner-Party democracy—is only a short step.

At about the same time, **Pravda** publishes in a leader a brief outline of the history of the Moscow Party generation. Main content: The struggle against "Trotskyism".

And most remarkable: the history of the Moscow organization is begun with the year 1923! What was there up to 1923? What was there under Lenin? Why does the history of the Moscow Party begin only with the date of Lenin's illness?

The answer is clear. It is with 1923 that the new epoch of the Stalin regime begins, the "highest perfection of Party development" —VALENTIN OLBERG

Φ

If it is at all possible, to realize socialism in one country then one can believe in that theory not only after the conquest of power but also "prior"to it. If socialism can be realized within the national boundaries of backward Russia then there is the more reason to believe that it can be realized in advanced Germany Tomorrow the leaders of the C.P. of Germany will surely bring forward this theory The Draft Program empowers them to do so.

—TROTSKY